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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 05 KHARTOUM 001540

SIPDIS

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SENSITIVE

DEPARTMENT FOR AF A/S FRAZER, AF/SPG, AND AF/SE  
NSC FOR PITTMAN AND HUDSON  
ADDIS ABABA ALSO FOR USAU

E.O. 12958: DECL: 10/02/2012  
TAGS: [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [KPKO](#) [UN](#) [AU](#) [SU](#)  
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH S/E NATSIOS, FUR LEADERS ENDORSE  
ABDULWAHID, SET PRE-CONDITIONS FOR TALKS

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Classified By: CDA Alberto Fernandez, Reason: Sections 1.4 (b) and (d)

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Summary  
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¶1. (SBU) From the Fur stronghold in West Darfur, influential Fur leaders told S/E Natsios that Abdulwahid Al Nur remains their sole legitimate representative and that six maximalist conditions affecting security, compensation, and land must be met before they can participate in peace negotiations with the Sudanese Government. They denied that the CPA was relevant to Darfur and, while expressing gratitude for the U.S.' attention to the Darfur crisis, said that Darfurians could not trust that a new agreement before the deployment of UNAMID would protect them given the failure of the DPA. S/E Natsios explained that the purpose of the negotiations is to address the issues of security and marginalization that have plagued Darfur and that the experience of previous UN peace-keeping operations has shown that they are most successful when enforcing a viable agreement. "If both sides have pre-conditions, there will never be negotiations, there will never be peace, and the people will stay in the camps forever," he said. Urging the Fur to participate in the UN/AU-led peace process, S/E Natsios told the Fur that "it's your job to negotiate. It's not our job, and we can't do it for you." Please see paras. 10 and 11 for two petitions the Fur representatives presented to S/E Natsios. End summary.

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Abdulwahid, Six Pre-Conditions for Talks  
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¶2. (SBU) Meeting with S/E Natsios and CDA Fernandez in Zalingei, West Darfur on October 30, 30 Fur internally displaced person (IDP) leaders and civil society activists emphasized that they had designated Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) leader Abdulwahid Al Nur as their only representative for Darfur peace negotiations and laid out six sweeping pre-conditions for Fur participation in the political process: 1) full deployment of the UN-AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), 2) disarmament of the Arab militias, 3) individual compensation for the victims of the Darfur conflict, 4) prosecution of the perpetrators of violence by the International Criminal Court, 5) rehabilitation and

reconstruction of Fur lands, and 6) a return to the traditional land allocation system. "We will not attend talks unless these demands are met," one IDP representative stated. "Abdulwahid is the only real representative," said another IDP. "He talks not on behalf of himself but on behalf of Darfur." A civil society leader further explained that Abdulwahid's demands were at "our request."

13. (SBU) One IDP criticized the international community for "not taking what we're saying. We have one representative, Abdulwahid, and he has a strategy for Darfur." According to their leaders, the Fur could not participate in political negotiations with the Sudanese Government until security is assured through deployment of an international force. They predicted that the upcoming peace talks scheduled to begin in Libya at the end of October would fail "because we will not be represented." A woman recalled that she had fled attacks by Arab militias, leaving her children behind. "How can we start talks without any conditions, without security?" she asked. An older sheikh added that Abdulwahid "demands protection for his people and then he can enter into talks. In the past, when he's in negotiations, the Government bombs people." A civil society leader called for the UN and AU to move the negotiations to a "neutral country...you can't force people to go somewhere that threatens them."

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CPA, DPA Not for Darfur  
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14. (SBU) Claiming to represent the Fur in 151 IDP camps, the Fur leaders explained that the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was not applicable to Darfur. Echoing comments from the early stages of the rebellion in 2003 and 2004, the representatives underscored that "we will not accept the agreement that resulted from Naivasha...and pay the price for the CPA." Previous negotiations that had resulted in both the CPA and the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) had been

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impartial because they had excluded "the people of Darfur," said one IDP. While expressing their gratitude to the U.S. for its effort to defuse the Darfur crisis, the representatives said that "we respect U.S. policy but don't want the U.S. to endorse anything we don't like." A civil society leader said that the disarmament provisions in the DPA had proven ineffective and questioned how Darfurians could trust that a new agreement would be implemented.

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Rebel Disunity Complicates Peace  
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15. (SBU) The civil society leaders said that disunity among Darfur's rebel groups had complicated peace efforts, and they called on the U.S. to address this issue. "We don't believe in the rebel groups from Arusha," said one man. "Except for JEM, they were created by the Government." Others noted that the UN/AU-sponsored talks in Arusha in early August did not represent the people of Darfur. Darfurians must negotiate from a position of strength, according to one activist. "You cannot put the executioner and the victim on the same level," he said.

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PKO Success Demands Political Agreement  
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16. (SBU) S/E Natsios explained that the purpose of the negotiations is to address the issues of security and marginalization that have plagued Darfur. The experience of previous UN peace-keeping operations has shown that they are most successful when enforcing a viable agreement, but "if you don't have an agreement, you can't hold the Government accountable." Many countries were reticent to contribute forces to UNAMID without a final political settlement in

place, according to S/E Natsios, and while the UN/AU and the international community would demand a cessation of hostilities among the parties to the talks prior to the start of negotiations, other preconditions were "ridiculous." Responding to a request to delay the start of negotiations until the deployment of UNAMID, S/E Natsios said that it will take several months to deploy the 24,000-man force "and the longer we wait for negotiations, the worse it will be for the Fur people."

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No Peace Without Negotiations  
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¶7. (SBU) "If both sides have pre-conditions, there will never be negotiations, there will never be peace, and the people will stay in the camps forever," S/E Natsios said. Underscoring that the CPA was for "the whole country" and represented the best opportunity to change the political dynamic in Sudan, S/E Natsios said that Darfurians had to negotiate an equitable agreement that would allow them to leave the IDP camps, return to their land, and participate in elections in 2009. If they refuse to join the peace process, however, they would exclude themselves from the opportunity that the CPA timeline offered. "It's your country," he said. "It's your job to negotiate. It's not our job, and we can't do it for you."

¶8. (SBU) CDA Fernandez noted that participation in the talks did not mean that the Fur needed to accept the Sudanese Government's proposals. "You can't achieve security and disarmament without the talks," he said, noting that disarmament of the Arab militias was not included in the mandate of UN Security Council Resolution 1769 and required negotiation. That UNSCR 1769 does not mandate this disarmament seemed to come as a surprise to the Fur. S/E Natsios added that the Government continued to delay disarmament of the Arab militias on the grounds that only one rebel group had signed the DPA. CDA Fernandez warned that the Government would shift the blame for the Darfur crisis onto Darfurians if they did not attend the talks.

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Note  
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¶9. (S) While Abdulwahid's power stems from his tremendous  
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popularity among the Fur, rather than military strength on the ground, UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) officials in Nyala report a dramatic increase in the capacity of his forces in the last month. As a result of this surge in arms, Abdulwahid's fighters have forced rival SLM faction leader Ahmed Abdulshafie's troops out of Jebel Marra and seized control of the entire area, according to the UNMIS officials. The source of the arms is unknown but speculation points to Eritrea, given its opposition to the selection of Libya as the venue of the UN/AU-sponsored peace talks. End note.

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Comment  
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¶10. (SBU) The anger, rote support for Abdulwahid, and extreme demands of the Fur leaders underscore the polarization occurring in Darfur today--a reality that makes the way forward on UNSCR 1769 and the Tripoli talks quite challenging. These traumatized and brutalized people seemed more interested in revenge and power than in peace. End comment.

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Petitions Given to S/E Natsios  
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11. (SBU) The following is the text of a handwritten petition given to S/E Natsios by Fur representatives of the IDP camps:

(Begin Petition)

To: The American Administration

Denouncing what is going on in the political arena these days regarding the Darfur problem and the multiplicity of forums for the solution of the political problems of Darfur. We are here now to slander and denounce whatever regarding the so-called talks and its preparatory meetings that took place in Arusha, Tanzania. The same scenario will be repeated in Tripoli where by the attendees would claim that they are representing the grievd and helpless Darfur people! We are sending this message to express our true will. We the displaced in Zalingei in particular and the displaced people and refugees of Darfur in general that we are against what is going on in Libya, and we would like to say to the attendees the following:

- 1) We are fully behind the political ideas submitted by Abdulwahid.
- 2) We condemn those who claim and present themselves as legitimate representatives of the people of Darfur.
- 3) We denounce the repeating and weak positions of the United Nations toward the problem of Darfur.
- 4) We decry the UN supervision to the talks to be held in Tripoli because it doesn't consolidate the opinion of the displaced and the refugees, who are completely rejecting the Arusha meeting and expected Libya talks unless their legitimate representative Abdulwahid Al Nur participates.
- 5) We dismiss the DPA be the reference to any coming talks.
- 6) We call on the UN to maintain credibility and transparency in solving the Darfur problem.
- 7) We do support Abdulwahid Al Nur and consolidate his constructive ideas in solving the Darfur problem by the following:

- 1) We call for the immediate deployment of international forces to protect the innocent displaced and refugees in Darfur and to halt killing, raping and plundering.

- 2) We call on the international community to be more serious and find final and root solution to the tribes that have emigrated from Niger and now occupy the territories of the Darfur displaced and refugees.

- 3) We maintain our demands for individual and group compensation, reconstruction of destroyed villages and provision of basic services so that we may be able to return to our places.

- 4) We are for citizenship and secular state.

- 5) We demand our right for self-determination.

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- 6) The disarmament of the Janjaweed, through most of them have already been integrated into the regular forces.

- 7) Trial of war criminals.

- 8) We demand one region with the 1956 border.

- 9) The issue of land tenure and hawakir is a red line that cannot be surpassed.

- 10) We call for the equitable distribution of wealth and the effective participation in the Presidency.

- 11) Call on releasing all of the political detainees.

- 12) We call upon the American Administration not to support any work that might contradict with the demands of Darfur

people.

Issued in Zalingei IDP camps  
Signed by:  
Representatives of the elders  
Representatives of the youth  
Representatives of the women

(End text)

¶12. (SBU) The following is a handwritten petition given to S/E Natsios by representatives of the Khamsa Dagaig IDP camp near Zalingei, West Darfur:

(Begin text)

To the American Envoy

We welcome you in the scorch land of Darfur, which is neglected by the international community and even by America. We are writing you this brief letter to say:

- 1) We decry the so-far weak positions of your country toward the problem of Darfur.
- 2) We call on the immediate disarmament of the Janjaweed and to stop the attack, the on-going killings, raping, and violations of human rights.
- 3) We call for and will keep calling for the removal of the Arab tribes emigrated from Niger and Mali and now occupying our territories while we are in the camps.
- 4) Our rights on individual and group compensations.
- 5) Movements created by the Government should not go to represent the displaced and refugees in the Tripoli talks.
- 6) We would like to affirm to your country that our only legitimate representative is the popular black lion, who studied law and practiced as a lawyer, the hero Abdulwahid Mohammed Ahmed Nur.
- 7) We decry the statements from your country putting sanctions on historical leaders that are designated from the people. This actually means putting sanctions on the victims, the displaced, refugees, orphans, and all those whose human rights were violated on the land of Darfur.
- 8) We decry your position in Abuja and now in Tripoli.
- 9) We decry your encouraging meetings and forums to attend the so-called Tripoli talks.
- 10) We call for international protection with the real force on the ground not in the media.
- 11) War criminal suspects should be tried by the ICC.
- 12) We call for a Darfur state where all people enjoy the full rights of citizenship.

Mohammed Abdullah Haroun, Sheikh of the Sheikhs  
Sidiq Mohammed Abdulla, Youth Union  
Samira Isaq, Women's Union

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(End text)

¶13. (U) S/E Natsios cleared this message.

¶14. (U) Tripoli minimize considered.  
FERNANDEZ